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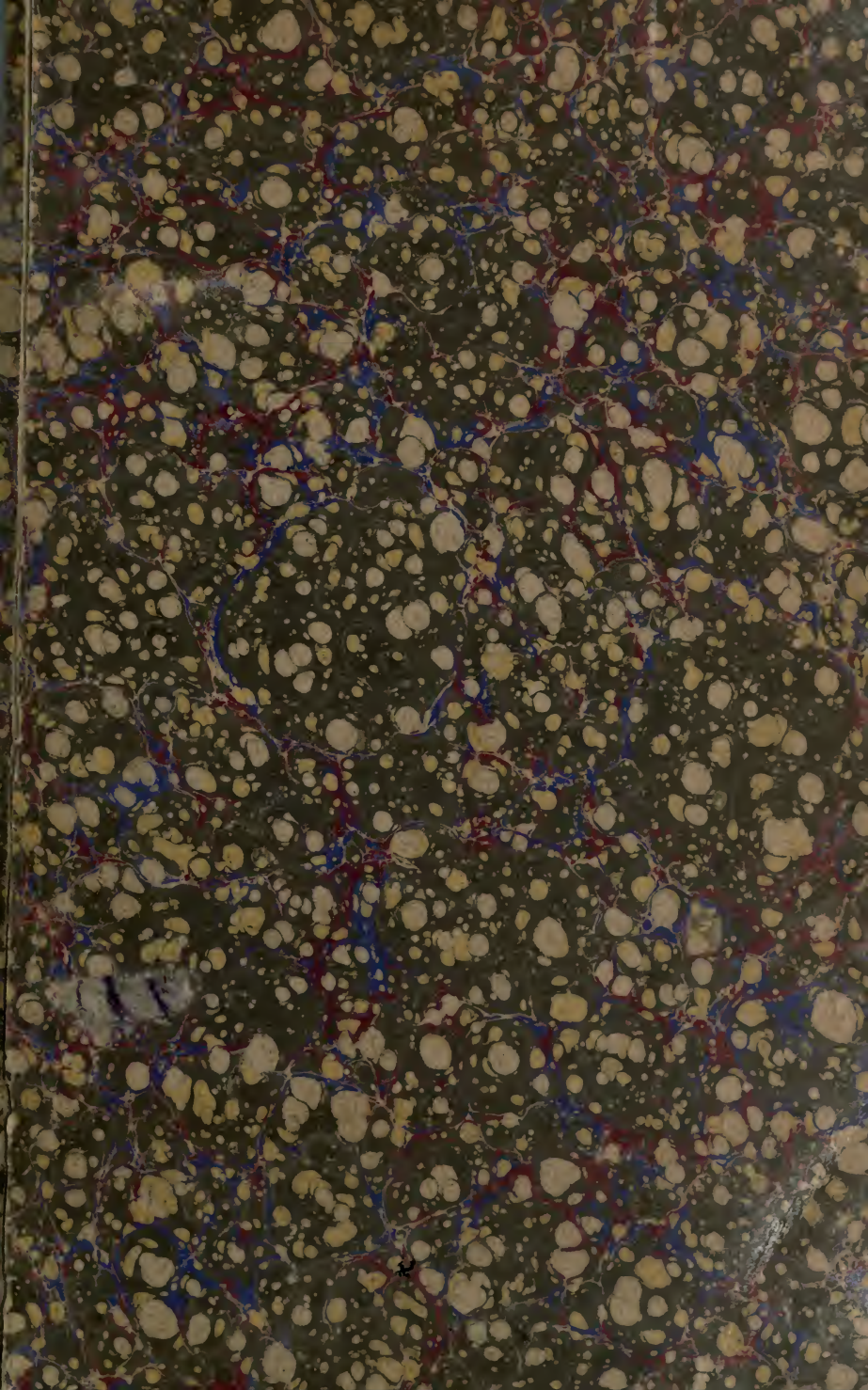


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Protection to American Labor.

BY

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PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR.

First.—Ought American labor to be protected?

Second.—What ought that protection to be?

Our natural rights, philosophy, and experience concur in answering the first of these questions in the affirmative. Of our natural or moral rights, as interpreted by the highest forms of civilization, none are paramount to those of labor. “The great interest of this great country, the producing cause of all prosperity,” says Daniel Webster, “is labor, labor, labor. The government was made to protect this industry; to give it both encouragement and security.” It is a universal law that, by means of labor, man subsists, betters his condition, acquires those things, whether real or ideal in character, that minister to his happiness. From this standpoint the rights of labor are seen to be equivalent to those of life itself. In other words, the rights of labor are the rights of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” vouchsafed to man by his Creator. Government failing to protect its members in the enjoyment of these sacred rights, defeats the objects for which it was instituted.

But in determining the rights of labor, its relations to the other agents of production must not be lost sight of. Its rights to protection and its obligations to protect the objects of worth, are commensurate. However mighty, it is relatively dependent. Let not, then, the hand say to the brain—nor to nature, nor to capital, nor to genius: “Behold all these vast works of the world, the results of my unaided efforts;” but, rather, as becomes the honor and dignity of a grand and magnanimous power, as becomes the lofty spirit of true nobility, let the hand say: “Behold ye, my companions, nature, capital, and genius, these our glorious achievements: behold the earth clothed in beauty, the myriads of happy homes, the innumerable streams of plenty flowing from the broad reservoirs of yellow harvest,

from the vast treasures of mineral wealth, and from the civilizing fountains of manufacturing industry, to gladden the hearts of the human race—behold these rich and copious blessings, resulting not from my individual effort, but from our united efforts.

A celebrated German economist divides industrial history into three periods: in the first of which nature is the chief agent of production; in the second, labor; in the third, capital. The relative importance here attributed to each of these agencies of wealth seems to me questionable. That nature, for the most part, supplied man in his primitive state with the necessaries of life, as she is wont to supply the wants of the lower order of animals, is obviously true. As man ascended somewhat the scale of civilization, and under the guidance of genius put his hand to the plow and other industrial implements, thereby augmenting the necessaries of life and producing comforts for mankind, it seems to me that a copartnership of equality was established by nature and labor, rather than a relationship in which one was pre-eminent over the other. True, nature hitherto had ill supplied man with the necessaries of life, as game, roots, nuts, and fruit for food; rocks and caves for shelter; bark and leaves of trees for raiment; whereas, labor, on his advent into the world, domesticated animals for food, added bread, reared for man warm and commodious habitations, and clothed him in garments of comfort. Yet in it all is seen the impress of the hand of nature. In a general sense, nature produces the crude material, labor fashions it into things of usefulness and beauty. If a barren waste is converted by labor into a field of fertility, the inherent properties of that fertility are of nature, and not of labor. Labor removes the obstructions to the development of those properties; nature does the rest. The ultimate result, then, is attributable to the combined efforts of nature and labor.

As man attained a higher degree in civilization; acquired a knowledge of the various products indigenous to different regions of the globe; foresaw the benefits, comforts, and pleasures that an exchange of the surplus of these products would

confer upon the inhabitants of the different climes; conceived that greater economy in production would obtain in various departments of industry by the combined efforts of men than by their several isolated efforts—in short, as man took a broader view of the world, a deeper insight into human affairs, genius, or rather reason, pointed out to him that as the fields of agriculture were fertilized by water applied to them from streams and reservoirs, so these uncultivated, barren, and arid fields of commerce, manufacture, and general industry could be rendered luxuriantly fruitful, by applying to them capital, as a fertilizing agent from the streams and reservoirs of wealth. Trial was made. Repeated experiment confirmed the truth of reason's proposition. Thence capital became recognized as an indispensable agent of production. If, on the one hand, capital was unable to perform the functions of nature and labor, on the other hand, they were equally unable to perform the functions of capital.

The German economist, to whom reference has been made, in pronouncing capital "chief" of the agents of production, would seem to ignore the aphorism that the strength of a chain is no greater than that of its weakest link; would seem to ignore the fact, that the tiny hair-spring, or its equivalent, is no less important than the main-spring, in producing the requisite motion of a watch. How idle the speculation of the political economists of his school, that the steam engine, a typical feature of modern industry, was mainly the product, not of manual labor but of the genius, enterprise, perseverance, and command of funds of two employers of labor, Watt and Boulton. Great honor is due to the genius, enterprise, and perseverance of these great inventors. In ancient times they would have been deified—perhaps in the minds of men have been elevated to a throne above that of God himself. We cheerfully admit, too, the inestimable value of capital in the production of the steam engine, that great masterpiece of all time. But I maintain that manual labor most manfully performed his part; grappled the earth, wrenched from her firm grasp the crude material, which by his skill and steady blows he forged and fash-

ioned under the guidance of genius into that wondrous creature, as it were, of life. If man had hoofs instead of hands, would the iron horse ever have rejoiced in its strength and fleetness? Strange that these special pleaders of capital on one hand, and of labor on the other, should fail to understand that the law of the universe is that of equality; that a particle and a world mutually solicit each other's aid; that they are mutually dependent, one upon the other; that were the atoms composing the earth to part company, the earth would dissolve back into chaos.

So with respect to nature, labor, and capital: as agents of production, immutable law proclaims their equality. The true economy of production, the well-being of man, consists, then, in the highest effort of these powers, blended in perfect harmony. What the highest law has joined, let not man put asunder. Palsied be the hand that would maliciously sever a single link in the chain, or a single fibre in the cord, binding them together. Disrupt their union, civilization halts, totters, falls, perishes, and man lapses back into barbarism. Wrong one—not only does reaction take place, but the wrong inflicted is transmitted to all, to the detriment of society.

Overtax the energies of land, it becomes barren, and food thereby scarce; poorly pay the efforts of free labor, it famishes, and society pines; draw upon capital in excess of its resources, it necessarily fails, and industry thereby decays. It is evident, then, that the protection of these agents of production—one and all—against the aggressions of wrong in any form, is the proper end and aim of individual man, of society, of civil government—is the “great study” of life.

Aggression is of two kinds, internal and external.

With respect to internal aggression, the numerous strikes, the boycotting, and the destruction of property now rife, are familiar examples. In the case of these altercations between labor and capital, let judgment be withheld until an impartial hearing of both sides shall be had. It must be said, however, that the wanton destruction of property, the hardships inflicted upon the community, and the endangering of life, can only invoke utter condemnation. But the evil spirit inciting these atrocities is no more

to be condemned than that other spirit, that would, in this fair land consecrated to freedom, uproot free labor, and plant in its stead that "bohan upas"—Chinese labor. Each is an enemy to society—an enemy to all good. It matters not whether it is the lust of anarchy or the greed of avarice, or, indeed, the zeal of blind fanaticism—no one has the right to destroy my property, nor to degrade my labor to the condition of serfdom, nor to feed prospective proselytes with my bread.

As to an amicable settlement between labor and capital employed in legitimate industry, I entertain not a doubt. Capital devoted to the subjugation of free labor will unquestionably meet with sore defeat. Let alarmists predict that in the near future a war to the hilt will occur between labor and capital; and that in consequence dire calamity will befall the country. Fear not—it is but a bugbear—the ravings of a distorted imagination. Be assured that American labor and capital are too intelligent and too honorable not to settle equitably all their difficulties by arbitration. They are too wise not to profit by the saying of Edmund Burke, that "all government, indeed, every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue and every prudent act, is founded on compromise and barter." "We balance inconveniences; we give and take; we remit some rights that we may enjoy others; and we choose rather to be happy citizens than subtle disputants."

Whence, for the most part, comes this agitation? Not from the industrious classes, but from non-laboring parasites upon the skirts of labor—visionary anarchists, political gamblers, and loud-mouthed bar-room sitters. Certain it is that reason will dissipate these elements of mischief, as does the sun pestilential vapors. In isolated cases, labor unquestionably has just cause of complaint; so, too, in other cases has capital. "Let him who asks right, do right." Let both labor and capital be set right by the strong arm of justice. Being equal, as hitherto shown, each ought to be equally protected.

But in general, how does the matter stand between them? Taking as a criterion the statistics of 1880, with respect to manufactures of the United States, it appears that in round numbers

the value of the products, and the cost of these productions, were as follows, viz :

Value of products.....	\$5,400,000,000
Cost of material	\$3,400,000,000
Amount paid labor.....	1,000,000,000
Whence gross gain	\$1,000,000,000

Now, as is well known, 1880 was a fortunate year for manufactures. During an equal period of "hard times," such as are now upon us, capital is not only liable to lose, on an equal venture, a billion of dollars, but to be bankrupted. Under the circumstances, does capital seem to have taken the lion's share, or to have been an aggressor? Let candid labor answer.

For the greatest good of all concerned, both encouragement and restraint are requisite with respect to the accumulations of capital. Large capital is requisite for large enterprises, which are necessary for employing the hands of labor, and for supplying the wants of man. As no definite bounds can well be set to legitimate enterprise, so by parity of reason none can well be set to the accumulations of capital for conducting that enterprise. In this, as in mechanics, the power must be directly proportionate to the work sought. But capital or wealth should be restrained to the utmost from pressing upon the rights of labor. If it be not restrained, the few become enriched at the expense of the many. In this event, freedom is such but in name. "The freest government," says Daniel Webster, "cannot long endure where the tendency of the law is to create a rapid accumulation of property in the hands of the few, and to render the masses of the people poor and dependent." Goldsmith expresses a kindred sentiment in these words :

" Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

In both these quotations the relative wealth of the two classes is evidently meant, and not the quantity of wealth in the aggregate. Ratio, not aggregate quantity, is contemplated.

Degrade labor, the results pointed out by the immortal states-

man and the immortal bard are inevitable ; protect labor, these results are impossible. It is for you, for me, for all co-laborers, to say whether American labor ought to be protected against these and all internal aggressions.

With respect to external aggressions, Henry Clay says: "The great battle of the world is between freedom and despotism, between European capital and labor on one side, and American capital and labor on the other. On this point turns the destiny of nations." Since the utterance of this great truth, fifty years ago, despotism has immensely increased its forces, has enlisted Asiatic labor, and multiplied the machine labor of Europe indefinitely. So that now, in this aggression of despotism, American labor is besieged on the west by an army of Chinese labor, four hundred million strong, and on the east by the still more powerful forces of European capital and European labor, pauper and machine combined, on the north by French Canadians, on the south by Mexican peonage—both cheap. The conflict between these allied forces and free American labor is irrepressible. There is no such thing as peace between them. I appeal to the evidence, the facts in the case.

The civilization of the Asiatic division is that of deadly hostility to the civilization of progress. The vices of seventy centuries of uniform despotism and slavery seem infused into the mind and constitution of the Chinese. Our experience so far with this foreign foe indicates that over seventy centuries more will be required to eliminate those inherited or constitutional vices. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says, with respect to the Chinese: "Dishonesty prevails to a frightful extent, and with it, of course, untruthfulness. The Chinese set little or no value on truth. Punishment is inflicted to compel a witness to supply the evidence required, and is continued on failure, till he becomes insensible." Thus despotism, by the enforcement of slavery upon its subjects, generates in them the spirit of dishonesty and untruthfulness, and then visits the victims of its baneful influences with dreadful torture. Custom in time passes into a fundamental law, which both despot and slave recognize as the law of right. The Chinese, wherever they go, take with

them their inherited laws of unmeasured ages of despotism. They ignore, evade the laws of the country which they infest, and enforce among themselves their inherited laws.

The Commission appointed by Congress to investigate the Chinese scourge, report in these words: "They (the Chinese) have secret tribunals, exercising a criminal and civil jurisdiction, an *imperium in imperio*. They have tribunals and enforce penalties, even to the extent that property and life bear enforcement." This Commission further report that the Chinese are "immoral to the last degree"; that their "system of marriage is polygamous"; that they "murder their female children, to obviate a redundancy of population"; that they "are utterly regardless of an oath"; that "the Chinese conscience knows no such thing as to tell the truth"; that "their only interest in our law is to take advantage of it, and in their self-interest to evade it"; that "Chinese labor drives white labor from the field—to starvation"; that "Chinese immigration prevents white labor coming to this coast, both from the Eastern States and from Europe. We of California must give this coast up to Asia, or we must reserve it for ourselves and our race"; that "Chinese women come here against their will. They are sold in China by their parents for the purposes of prostitution. They are bought and sold, and transferred by bills of sale like cattle."

This Commission in its summary says: "The burden of our accusation against the Chinese is, that they come in conflict with our labor interest; that they can never assimilate with us; that they are a perpetual, unchanging, and unchangeable alien element, that can never become homogeneous; that their civilization is demoralizing and degrading to our people; that they degrade and dishonor labor; that they can never become citizens; and that an alien, degraded labor class, without desire for citizenship, without education, and without interest in the country it inhabits, is an element both demoralizing and dangerous to the community within which it exists."

President Garfield, speaking of the Chinese, says: "The law should not permit the spread of the plague. The lowest grade of poorly paid labor retires before them as it would be-

fore a pestilence. They have no assimilation whatever to Caucasian civilization.”

Some may urge that none are more industrious than the Chinese, and that in the economy of a State, industry is a cardinal virtue. In this case, experience proves the reverse—proves that the industry of the Chinese is an unmitigated evil to the State; that it absorbs and exports the State’s wealth, without rendering an equivalent; sends gaunt hunger to the home of free labor; engenders idleness and the grossest immorality in our youth of both sexes.

Some may urge that the commerce of China is so highly advantageous to us that we cannot afford to restrict Chinese immigration, lest China shall retaliate by restricting her commerce with us. With respect to these great advantages of commerce, ever dinned into our ears, the facts are that from 1868 to 1883, a term of fifteen years,

The imports to the United States from China were.....	\$301,000,000
The exports from the United States to China were.....	77,000,000
Balance.....	\$224,000,000

paid China in gold and silver. Fear not that China, under any circumstances, would endeavor to lessen a commerce so favorable to her. Besides, the fundamental law or spirit of the Chinese government is adverse to the emigration of its subjects. Indeed, the Emperor Tao Honang, as early as 1850, issued an ordinance forbidding any of his subjects to emigrate to California.

Others may urge that the great heart of Christian civilization overflows with good-will to all mankind, and will ever throb with anxiety till all shall be satiated with its joys. Obey its promptings—obey the injunction to the letter—go forth and proclaim the glad tidings to every creature. Go, preach—freely apply the balm of immortal life; but, like the prudent physician, let not a single patient escape from the great pest house of Chinese immorality, to infect with deadly disease the happy homes of Christian civilization. Would the shepherd be regarded sane, who, with exuberance of love for all of God’s

creatures, and with the hope of reclaiming wolves from their evil ways—the hope of supplanting their nature with the propensities of the lamb—should throw open to them the gates that protect his fold? Would these apostles of Chinese immigration improve their understanding, let them well con the moral of the old fable, viz: “A farmer having found a serpent nearly dead with cold, and being moved with compassion, cherished it in his bosom. For which kindness the serpent, when warmed into life, inflicted a deadly wound upon its benefactor.”

Reason lags not after imagination in reaching the outcome of these would-be missionary efforts. The Chinaman perceives no difference between Christian and Confucian ethics. The precepts: “Kill not; Steal not; Lie not; Defile not; Do not that to another which you would not have him do to you,” come down to him from an age more venerable than that of nineteen centuries. Hence, if he is loyal to his convictions, the difficulty of Christianizing him seems insurmountable. He can well afford to discuss the precepts so transmitted with the most learned Christian divines. But in practice, with him, ages of despotism and slavery have rendered these precepts a nullity, so that their authority is practically a matter of little consequence.

It would be a subversion of common sense, an outrage on humanity, a defiance of justice, if the pulpit should ally itself with capital and these monstrous forces of Asia in their aggressions upon free labor. Who so blind as not to perceive that unrestricted Chinese immigration into this country—in other words, Asiatic slavery—means war—war to the hilt between servile and free labor; war, whose consuming flames will far exceed in intensity of heat, and in scope, those that a short time since, in consequence of African slavery, seriously threatened the destruction of the American Union? African slavery was involuntary and limited; Chinese slavery is a normal condition of the mass of that people, and is virtually unlimited; hence its greater menace to free labor. Our ablest jurists—fanaticism and Utopian statesmanship to the contrary notwithstanding—maintain that “the right of self-preservation is paramount to all other considerations,” and that “any government, deeming

the introduction of foreigners or their merchandise injurious to the interests of its own people, is at liberty to withhold the indulgence." (Kent's Com., vol. 1, p. 35.)

Passing now to a consideration of the European division of these allied forces, the fact is obvious that this division too, to no little extent, has been morally and politically dwarfed by the blighting influences of despotism. It seems difficult for one portion of the inhabitants of Europe to understand that the rightful normal condition of man is that of liberty, and no less difficult for another portion to understand that "Liberty must be limited in order to be possessed." Theoretical liberty, as seen in Grecian democracy of old, or in French red republican, ism of 1789, or in more modern socialism, is one thing; American liberty quite another. One is based on chimera, the other on common sense.

Socialism, in some of its forms, as it comes to us from Europe seems the embodiment of the unbridled passions of men; furies led by the rampant spirit of anarchy, at enmity with despotism, and equally at enmity with the good order of society. Like the enraged viper it strikes, reckless as to the object it shall sting. Though mad and striking at random, yet does socialism render efficient aid to European despotism in its battle with free American labor. *For by as much as the productions of American free labor are diminished, in consequence of socialistic agitation, by so much are the productions of European servile or pauper labor benefited in supplying the deficiency.*

Further, it is to be noted that the practice of despotic Europe, in exporting hither her paupers to be supported by this country, not only works a hardship upon our industries, but it is a national insult demanding redress. The ultimate effect of this pauperism is worse on society than that of rampant socialism. For the common sense of the American people and the strong arm of justice will make short work of these socialistic agitators; while their offspring, from their association with freedom's youthful hosts, and from the benign influences of our public schools, will vie with the foremost in American patriotism, and in deeds of daring for the cause of American liberty. On the

other hand, the imported paupers, festering with disease, will be each, during life, a yearly tax of about \$100 on our industries; while their descendants, likely to inherit largely the ailments of their progenitors, will be for generations a source of national care, expense, and weakness.

Again, with respect to physical power, it is found if 300 foot tons of energy to each able-bodied male, 3,000 to each horse, and 4,000 to each horse-power of steam engines, be adopted as the standard of measure, that for 1885 the industrial energy of Europe is equivalent to 730,000,000 man-power. In other words, the numerical strength of the great labor army of despotic Europe is equivalent to seven hundred and thirty million able-bodied men. Estimating the industrial energies of China, and of all other nations whose labor conflicts with ours, equivalent to 310,000,000 man-power, then will these allied labor energies of despotism amount to 1,040,000,000 man-power; in other words, to an army of able-bodied men, one billion and forty million strong. By reference to the statistics, the industrial energies of the besieged army of American labor is found equivalent to 260,000,000 man-power. Thus, the numerical strength of the allied armies of European and Asiatic servile and pauper labor is seen to be equal to four times the numerical strength of the American army of free labor.

This disparity in strength is a just cause of solicitude for protection, especially since the advantages enjoyed and the progress made by American labor are such as to excite more and more the envy of despotism and its servile forces. Indeed, labor is more remunerative in the United States than in any other country on the globe. Thus in 1880, the surplus of wages of operatives over the cost of food per week was in Europe \$2.25, in the United States \$8.00. In other words, by equal economy, the savings of labor in the United States are two hundred and fifty-five per cent. above the savings of labor in Europe. Thus, "the rates of wages in the United States, roughly estimated, are more than twice those of Belgium, three times those of Denmark, France, and Germany, one and a half times those in England and Scotland, and more than three

times those in Italy and Spain"; while "the prices of the necessaries of life are lower in the United States than in any of the foregoing countries."

The statistics of Massachusetts from 1860 to 1883 show that taking an average, the general weekly wages of the employes in nearly all the industries was $75\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain. These statistics further show that the living, though fifty per cent. better in Massachusetts than in Great Britain, costs only six per cent. more. Now, as we come west from Massachusetts, the wages increase, and the cost of living diminishes. Thence, it is safe to say, that in the United States the average wages are seventy-five per cent. higher than the wages are in Great Britain, and that the living, though fifty per cent. better in the United States, costs no more than the inferior living of Great Britain.

In making these comparisons, it will be borne in mind that the wages of the operatives of Great Britain are fifty per cent. higher than the average European wages, and seventy per cent. above the wages of Continental Europe. It will also be borne in mind, that even the cheap wages of Continental Europe in their turn indefinitely exceed the starvation wages of China. Now, as in physics, two bodies possessing different degrees of heat at first, soon become, by contact, uniform in temperature, so in industry will the wages of free labor, and the wages of servile labor, different at first, soon become uniform by contact. Night follows day with no greater certainty.

The occurrence of war, liable at any time between our country and foreign countries, or between foreign nations themselves, with which in either case we are engaged in commerce, presents another cogent reason why American labor, or in other terms, American industries, ought to be fostered by protection. The attainment of the greatest independence of the products and capital of foreign nations is our true policy. Especially at this time does it behoove us to put our house in order, for the signs of the times indicate that the peace of the world is not long assured. "Clouds, indeed, and darkness rest upon the future."

Having shown by a few of the many reasons, that American labor ought to be protected, I proceed to consider the second of the two capital leading questions : “ *What ought that protection to be ?*”

The answer in brief is : The development of the natural resources of the country, so as to meet most fully the requirements of the people ; the *restriction of both foreign immigration and foreign imports* that are injurious to our domestic affairs ; and the fostering of commerce with foreign nations—especially those of the American continent—by which commerce we shall stimulate home industry, and advantageously dispose of our surplus productions, in exchange for products not indigenous to our country.

The development of the natural resources of our country is the most important requisite in the attainment of wealth, prosperity, and happiness by our people ; for by it employment is given to labor ; every hand willing to work is busy with requiring toil ; every mouth well fed, and every man, woman, and child sheltered, and clothed in comfort. By it, increasing thrift obtains, progress in all the worthy objects of life is promoted, and independence secured. Chiefly by it a savage wilderness has been turned into our glorious Union, and the most extensive and the only honorable conquests made, “ not by destroying, but by promoting the wealth, the number, and the happiness of the human race.”

Much, however, as has been accomplished, the development of the natural resources of our country is but in its infancy. Millions of acres of land are still uncultivated. Immense forests are still in solitude. Billions of mineral wealth are locked in the mountain vaults ; innumerable forces are reposing in our coal beds, and other vast, perpetual forces are running to waste in our numerous streams. These, all these, remain to be developed by the future hand of industry.

The restriction of both foreign immigration and foreign imports that are injurious to our domestic affairs, should be written on the title page of every American work on political economy, taught in our public schools and at the home fireside, pro-

claimed from the American pulpit, and made the fundamental law of the land. I have already shown by indubitable proof that Chinese immigration and European pauper immigration are injurious—are a curse to our domestic affairs. They should, therefore, be restricted to the extent of utter prohibition.

For the determination of what foreign imports are injurious to our domestic affairs, Joshua Gee, a British writer of great force and clearness, furnishes us with the proper standard in these words: “The surest way for a nation to increase in riches is to prevent the importation of such foreign commodities as may be raised at home.”

But so great and varied are the natural resources of our country, that the rigid application of this standard will be objected to by some, on the ground that it will entirely destroy our foreign commerce, and thereby work a great injury to those engaged in it. True, foreign factors now reaping princely fortunes would be injured. But that injury falls on them, and not on us. The foreign commercial fleet would be injured; but the fact does not concern us, especially since that fleet grew to its present vast proportions largely by the destruction of our commercial fleet by piracy, in guise of foreign neutrality. It thus appears that no loss would accrue to us by the rigid enforcement of this rule. On the contrary, American labor, at present unemployed, would be greatly benefited by manufacturing the commodities which now come to us laden with excise and other foreign taxes. These imports, in 1880, amounted to \$761,000,000.

Further: Is the assumption true, that by the rigid enforcement of this rule, our foreign commerce would be entirely destroyed? In consequence of its enforcement would foreign nations buy from us appreciably less meat, grain, cotton, and so on, of articles which they must have and cannot secure elsewhere on equally favorable terms? Reference to the statistics of the United States for 1880 shows that our total domestic exports, exclusive of gold and silver, amounted to \$824,000,000. These exports consisted mostly of crude material. Indeed, the value of the three items, bread-stuffs, provisions, and raw cot-

ton, was \$627,000,000. Taking into account other items, almost equally important, such as living animals, hay, rosin, tar, pitch, mineral oil, whale and other animal oils, seeds, tobacco, masts, lumber, quicksilver, copper and other metals, it is seen that American manufactures proper are but slightly represented in foreign markets; that foreign nations buy of us those commodities only which they cannot do without. Even entire prohibition of foreign importations, then, would not react injuriously upon our export commerce.

Illustrative of the relative values of the world's markets—home and foreign—to American industry, let the item of cereals be taken as a representative case. According to the statistics, the value of our cereal products in 1880 was \$1,400,000,000. Of these products, England consumed one-ninth part, and all foreign countries one-fifth part. Our home market, then, under existing circumstances, is worth to agriculture four times as much as the markets of the balance of the world. It has already been shown that the value of our manufactures in 1880 was \$5,400,000,000; that they paid for crude material \$3,400,000,000, and that they paid labor \$1,000,000,000; that is, paid as wages an amount equal to three-fourths the value of the entire agriculture products.

But in presence of these facts, some political economists have the effrontery to say that these manufactures have been protected by legislation to the injury of agriculture and other industries. Now, as the grain-growing States have increased more in wealth than the manufacturing States, the conclusion is unavoidable that its manufactures have been fostered to the benefit of agriculture, and not to its injury. Indeed, proportionate to the protection given, manufactures will be the thrift of agriculture and other industries; for they are members of the same body, deriving their energy, growth, and health from the pulsations of the same heart. Statistics further show that the accumulations of our national wealth, obviously due for the most part to the production of home industries, by restriction of foreign importations, were in 1880 \$47,500,000,000, and at the present time are by estimate \$56,000,000,000; of which

latter amount, \$47,500,000,000 have been amassed since 1850, notwithstanding our great civil war, and the destruction of our commerce. This gain alone in the last thirty-six years exceeds, by several billions of dollars, the entire national wealth of any other country on the face of the globe.

According to Mulhull, the national wealth of England, the great leading nation of the world, in foreign commerce, was in 1880, \$42,000,000,000. Thus we perceive that commerce and the vaunted free-trade accumulated nearly \$5,500,000,000 less for England in 2000 years, than home industry and protection accumulated for the United States in thirty-six years.

Besides, there seems no good reason to doubt that full protection of all our domestic industries, by entirely prohibiting the importation of "such articles as could, on any tolerable terms, be manufactured at home," would have increased this difference many fold.

In further considering this great problem of political economy, the fact is to be borne in mind that the population of Europe doubles in one hundred years, and that the population of the United States doubles in twenty-five years. Thus, in one hundred years the ratio of increase here is eight times the ratio of increase in Europe. Our home market, as already shown, is at present worth four times the value of the European market to our agricultural industry, as a representative case. This order of things continuing, the value of our home market to American agriculture in a century will be equal to thirty-two times that of the European market to it. But this order of things is not likely to endure long. England, hitherto furnishing the principal market for our cereal exports, is already supplying her requirements in this line, more than formerly, from Russia, India, Australia, and Canada; besides, the United States, long before a century shall have passed, will evidently be noted for their exports of manufactures, rather than for those of cereals. The energies of agriculture will be strained to supply home wants, and American labor will require protection, not more by the restriction of foreign imports, than by the encouragement of exporting domestic manufactures. Indeed,

sound policy dictates the fostering of commerce with foreign nations—especially those of the American continent—by which commerce we shall stimulate home industry, and advantageously dispose of our surplus productions in exchange for products not indigenous to our country.

In shaping our general policy, we should not fail to profit by the saying of Mr. Robertson in the House of Commons, that: “The British policy is nothing more or less than for the English to get a monopoly of all markets for their manufactures, and prevent other nations, one and all, from engaging in them.” This has been the talisman of English success. But its potency relatively lessens by the touch of the mightier wand of progress. How far this bold policy may be adopted is a question—since the laws of morality apply with equal force to nations as to individuals. “Nothing is truly just which is inconsistent with humanity.” Nations as individuals have the moral right to put forth their energies to the utmost in developing their manufacturing, commercial, and other industries; but they have no moral right to prevent other nations engaging in similar pursuits in honorable competition. The destruction of our commerce by a nominally friendly power, was a practical example of the policy announced by Mr. Robertson. The act which would have sent an individual to the gallows was no less a crime by being virtually national. The policy, however, of getting a monopoly of all markets for our manufactures by honorable means, is sound, and ought to be pursued to the fullest extent, for the protection of American labor.

“The law of nations enjoins upon every nation the punctual observance of benevolence and good-will, as well as justice towards its neighbors.” This is the true policy of a nation that would prosper, be happy and long endure. It beats swords into plowshares, spears into pruning hooks, and converts impoverishing standing armies of war into those of peaceful industry, by which innumerable homes are cheered with the objects of comfort and luxury, and the state enriched.

This policy, pursued by the United States towards Mexico, Central and South America, will secure the monopoly of their

markets for the manufactures of American labor. The aggregate area of these countries exceeds twice that of Europe, including proximate islands. Their natural resources equally surpass those of that grand division of the globe. Indeed, their exuberant fertility yields an abundant harvest, with but little exertion of the cultivator. A few of the many and valuable products that here grow in profusion are: cocoa, coffee, corn, Paraguay tea, sugar-cane, cotton, tobacco, vanilla, cinchona, sarsaparilla, olives, cocoa-palm, almond, sesame, and flax; trees respectively yielding the balsam of Peru, India-rubber, copal, and camphor; dye-woods, building timber, and cabinet woods in great variety, as oak, pine, fir, cedar, mahogany, rosewood, and so on; in fine, vegetable products exceeding enumeration in variety. Their mineral resources, as gold, silver, iron, copper, tin, zinc, quicksilver, coal, and so on, are unlimited. Statistics show that the world's aggregate production of gold and silver, from 1493 to 1875, amounted to \$10,800,000,000, of which \$6,632,000,000, or two-thirds of the world's total production of the precious metals since the discovery of America, came from the mines of Mexico and South America. Yet, but little more than "prospecting" of these mines has been accomplished. The resources of these countries in "the cattle upon a thousand hills," and in the endless herds of cattle that fatten on the vast and fertile plains, are, in the eye of political economy, quite as inestimable as are their resources in mineral wealth. Mulhull predicts that the United States, now exporting large quantities of meat to European markets, will, ten years hence, require of that article all which they shall raise, and that Europe will turn to South America to supply her wants with that commodity.

Now, progress does not loiter. The immense resources of these countries are to be developed; the broad, fertile fields are to be tilled; the rich, exhaustless mines worked; the extensive forests of timber and choice woods are to be felled, and their material reared and fashioned into objects of usefulness and beauty; the rare products that minister to man's comforts, or


delight his senses, are to be gathered for his uses ; and the endless herds of cattle are to be utilized as food for millions of the human race. *Shall these developments be made under the guidance of European nations, and to the advantage of European labor? or shall they be made under the guidance of the United States, and to the advantage of American labor?*

To effect these developments, manufactures to the value of billions of dollars will be required. Shall they be the manufactures of European labor, or of American labor?

Our geographical position defies competition. Seas roll between Europe and this matchless prize ; while to us it is at hand. The locomotive, the most efficient agent of commerce, practically annihilates distance. Indeed, from that noble eminence whither the firm steps of reason, not the airy wings of fancy, bear us, are seen looming the possibilities of no distant future ; the several divisions and subdivisions of the American continent joined with links of steel ; and the locomotive, that great apostle of progress and civilization, going forth and proclaiming the glad tidings that the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries indigenous to the different climes are for the enjoyment of the whole American family, from the frozen North to the frozen South, and from ocean to ocean.

Statesmen, why stand ye idle? Justice demands at your hands that American labor shall be afforded the opportunities of effecting those grand achievements—of winning the matchless prize.

Irving M. Scott.

The image shows a book cover with a marbled paper pattern. The marbling consists of dark green, blue, and red veins forming a complex, organic pattern over a light tan background. A rectangular, light-colored paper label is pasted in the center of the cover. The label has a slightly irregular top edge and contains the text "UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY" in a simple, black, sans-serif font. There are some small white marks or tears on the left side of the label, where it appears to have been attached to the book's spine.

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